

AMERICA

Action Now To Avert Famine

By the Editors



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COMMENT ON THE WEEK

Tipping the Balance at Trieste. Intransigence, the sign of either stubbornness, stupidity or adherence to basic issues, has been the keynote of the Paris Council of Foreign Ministers. Evidence was rapidly adding up, however, to the conclusion that the failure of the Big Four to agree whether Trieste should remain Italian or be awarded to Yugoslavia, did not imply either stubbornness or stupidity but a mutual conviction that what happens to Trieste will be the sign of the political direction Europe is taking. If the fate of Trieste is no nearer solution today than it was months ago, it is because all parties have come to the studied conclusion that here they cannot yield without producing a major difference in European politics. The firm stand of Secretary Byrnes, apparently enjoying the full support of his Senatorial advisers, Democrat Tom Connally and Republican Arthur Vandenberg, indicates the President has finally made up his mind that American prestige can no longer permit Soviet expansion westward, even through its Yugoslav satellite. The failure of the Soviet-sponsored claim of Yugoslavia to this important port city, would be interpreted in all Europe as a sign that the Russian tide had reached its maximum and was now receding. Trieste represents basically now a struggle for big-Power prestige in Europe. The outcome, one suspects, will be determined not by what happens at Trieste or even Paris, but what course the United States decides to adopt in the near future toward Germany and Europe as a whole.

The "Schism" in the Ukraine. More light is being thrown upon the "return" of three million Catholics of the Ruthenian rite to the Orthodox fold (Cf. AMERICA, Jan. 5, "Tragedy in the Ukraine"; March 30, "Ruthenian 'Apostasy'"). The London *Tablet* reports that Catholic resistance to the enforced "schism" has been more than passive. "In actual fact, the resistance has been magnificent. Less than five per cent of the priests have submitted to the Soviet Orthodox Church; many are in hiding. The mass of people remain Catholic. . . . Some of the faithful have been known to journey 150 km. to find faithful priests. . . ." Of the two "bishops" sent from Moscow, one, Macarius, "is known to be a very active member of the Communist Party; the second, Nicholas, was formerly head of a section of the 'Militant Atheists.'" It is reported that some of the "priests" who attended the synod of March 8, which voted the "schism," were actually NKVD agents. (It should be noted that there is no condemnation of the Russian Orthodox Church as a whole, but only of the prelates who presently administer it under Soviet auspices.) An American officer who was in Lviv (Lwow) as late as March 28, 1946, reports in *Svoboda*, April 23 (published in Jersey City) on the sovietization of the ancient Ukrainian capital. It has been renamed Zhukov. The walls of the main railroad station are covered with paintings depicting the progress of the Soviet revolution since 1917. The Cathedral of St. George has been turned over to the Orthodox, and Red Army men with fixed bayonets guard its doors. All Ukrainian cultural and economic institutions are suppressed; only communist literature is available; only communist plays presented in the City Theatre. Meanwhile there is a very active underground movement directed against the Red Army and the agents of the NKVD.

Three-cornered Fight in South. "Operation Dixie," which is the military tag for the ambitious CIO-AFL attempt to bring the blessings of unionism and higher living standards to the people of the South, was off last week to an exciting and somewhat confusing start. While Van Bittner, leader of the CIO drive, was reportedly warning his lieutenants behind closed doors in Atlanta that he would not tolerate any Commies on the payroll, President William Green, speaking at a mass meeting in Asheville, which inaugurated the AFL campaign, was giving a message to Southern industrialists: "Grow and cooperate with us or fight for your life against Communist forces." And, just in case the employers missed the point, he added:

Whether they like it or not, the workers of the South are going to organize. Employer resistance will only redouble our efforts. Nothing can stop us, neither the opposition of reactionary management nor the rivalry of the communistic dual movement.

Even blunter still was AFL Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, who charged that "the real operators of the CIO-Communist drive to stop the AFL in the South are devoted followers of the Communist Party line." How the situation shaped up to Southern employers, peering from behind their open-shot breastworks, was not immediately clear, but if they began to suspect that "Operation Dixie" was more a gigantic AFL-CIO raid on one another's jurisdictions than an attack on their feudalistic privileges, innocent onlookers would not be surprised. A few days before these developments, CIO President Murray told the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers that AFL leaders were

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"ancient, rusty and fossilized," given to mourning the progress of the CIO, and that he believed "a little competition" to be a good thing for American labor. Shaking a puzzled head over the kind of competition going on in the South, we can only conclude that all this is probably what is known in the books as "labor statesmanship."

Mr. Murray on Communism. Obviously nettled by AFL and newspaper attacks on the CIO as communistic, President Philip Murray made a statement of policy on this issue which was unanimously approved by the United Steelworkers of America on the opening day of their convention at Atlantic City. The statement asserts the right of individual union members to profess whatever religious and political views they desire, but draws the line at any attempt from the outside to influence union policy. "This union," said Mr. Murray, "will not tolerate efforts by outsiders—individuals, organizations or groups—whether they be Communist, Socialist or any other group, to infiltrate, dictate or meddle in our affairs." In discussing the statement, the CIO President repeated what he had said the week before to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, that if Britain and the United States were making mistakes, Soviet Russia was, too. It is doubtful whether the resolution, incorporating this statement of policy, which was adopted by the delegates, will put an end to the fight between Communists and legitimate trade unionists in the CIO. It ignores several fundamental considerations and will appeal more to the *Daily Worker* than to the trade unionists. Mr. Murray's success in negotiating what is essentially a compromise designed to head off civil war in the CIO will largely depend on the future relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. If Stalin continues his policy of Hitlerite aggression, the pat on the communist wrist at Atlantic City will not mollify for very long the democratic forces in the CIO.

Federal Employees. The Hon. Harry Byrd, of Virginia, who has made something of a Senate career out of economy, reported to his colleagues several weeks ago that civilian employment in the Executive Department had decreased exactly 48,164 from February to March. As of April 1, President Truman's working force, exclusive of soldiers and sailors, was easily the biggest in the country, its 2,873,509 men and women dwarfing the payrolls of even such industrial giants as U. S. Steel and General Motors. The War Department was an easy first with 721,697 employees, with the Navy Department in second place by only about 20,000 over the Post Office Department's 469,621. (The American Battle Monuments Commission remained steady: it is getting along still with 1 employee.) Senator Byrd gave the impression that the overall reduction of 48,164 should be no source of joy to the economy-minded, since his analysis of the figures showed that, if the War and Navy Departments and the national war agencies were excluded from the totals, personnel actually increased during March by 34,078.

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For many months now the Virginia Senator, as head of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Expenditures, has been making these meticulous reports to Congress but, it would appear, with no very tangible results. The simple, stubborn fact seems to be that the country wants most of the services now performed by the Federal Government, and no great reduction in the personnel of the peace-time agencies can be hoped for unless the country changes its mind. Of such a change, there is little evidence, and perhaps for this reason advocates of economy in Congress are much more fertile in appeals to save than in definite proposals to bring the savings about.

Where Was MacArthur? John Bainbridge, in his book *Little Wonder* (the story of *Reader's Digest*), has uncovered the most fascinating mystery of the war. He quotes the *Digest* quoting a "reader who came out with General MacArthur from the Philippines," to the effect that during their ten days in the submarine the General and his party read and reread a battered copy of the *Digest*. The anonymous reader secured the well-worn copy as a precious relic of the memorable trip. And well he might, says Mr. Bainbridge, "since Commander Bulkely and a number of other reliable men swear that they took General MacArthur from the Philippines to Australia in a PT boat and a Flying Fortress." Being a simple journalist with an insatiable passion for facts, Mr. Bainbridge evidently feels himself incompetent to probe the profound mystery of our Pacific strategy uncovered by these apparently conflicting statements. For after reading certain exposures of Allied strategy we are inclined to believe that in such matters, to quote Monsignor Knox quoting the Canon of Much Wenlock, "facts are only the steam which obscures the mirror of truth." Being free from Mr. Bainbridge's inhibition, we offer the following attempt at an explanation. Let us first assess the unknown reader. He was important enough to be included in MacArthur's party; he was able to secure for himself the historic copy of the *Digest*; obviously he is a man whose testimony cannot lightly be discounted. Nor can we brush off the evidence of Commander Bulkely. But let us remember the immense importance of what we may call "Operation MacArthur." It was imperative that every least possibility of a "leak" be excluded. The plan adopted had the simplicity and surety that are the mark of MacArthur. A haggard, unshaven figure—the rearguard action had been long and violent—thrusts a corn cob pipe in its mouth, slips through the jungle to a waiting submarine. The whisper goes around: "MacArthur!" About the same time, a haggard, unshaven figure plus corn cob pipe slips through the jungle to a waiting PT boat. The whisper goes around. . . . Only one point remains obscure. Which of the two was MacArthur? And if neither, how did MacArthur get to Australia?

Mr. Hart Cries "Wolf!" Economic Council Letter No. 143, dated May 15, 1946, and signed by Merwin K. Hart, President of the National Economic Council, Inc., betrays a certain anti-Communist hysteria. We are at one with Mr. Hart in opposing communism; we refuse to share his hysteria. He mentions, for instance, the Full Employment Bill and the FEPC—"both based on Marxist philosophy." The Marxist philosophy of FEPC has evidently gone unperceived by many eminent Catholic clerics and laymen, all of whom supported FEPC and all of whom oppose Marxist philosophy. It also went unperceived by the *Daily Worker*, which campaigned lustily against the rally held in New York last February by the National Council for a Permanent FEPC. It is amazing that a body which professes to offer guidance

in economic thinking should not know that the philosophy of FEPC is almost the direct contradiction of Marxism. At a time when the fight against communism calls for clear, cool and sure thinking, such ill-informed and uncritical smears play directly into the hands of the Reds.

Centennial Charter Day at Fordham. Celebrating on May 11 the centennial of the granting of its charter by the State, Fordham honored, and received honor from, the President of the United States and the new Cardinal of Westminster. The pomp and ceremony had meaning. For Fordham has served well the State and City of New York in her hundred years. She has been faithful to the Jesuit educational charter—to cultivate both piety and intellect in her scholars. Cardinal Spellman's "Prayer for our Times";

the President's convocation address on the theme of the preamble to the United Nations Charter—"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed"; and Cardinal Griffin's address in the evening, on the tradition of Christian freedom—each was a worthy testimony of what a great Catholic university stands for now as always. AMERICA echoes the President's peroration: "I am confident that this splendid institution, with its educational system founded upon Christian principles, will play a full and noble part in the great adventure ahead of us. We can and we must make the atomic age an age of peace for the glory of God and the welfare of mankind." Great indeed is the responsibility of leadership on Fordham and all our Catholic institutions these days.

WASHINGTON FRONT

AS THIS IS WRITTEN, the Senate is beginning to consider restrictive labor legislation and, by the time it appears, the result will no doubt be known. Probably, at the start, the Senate did not itself know what its action would turn out to be, as the House did not know when it passed the crippling OPA bill.

It was pretty safe to say, however, that the Senate would not allow itself to be carried away as the House was on OPA, or on the Case labor bill in February. Still, the Senate did pass the Smith-Connally Act, and lived to regret it; so prophecies are dangerous.

Meanwhile, our legislators seem to be wandering around in a haze. The real trouble is that nobody seems to know just what the trouble is. Professor Leo Wolman of Columbia University has been writing a weekly article in the *Washington Post* for two years, the burden of which is invariably that the Wagner Act is at fault. Some time ago, it was the CIO that was to blame. Now, of course, the real devil is John L. Lewis.

This business of devils in national life (like Petrillo) is getting to be alarming. There is even serious talk now of passing an anti-Lewis law (which would no doubt please that gentleman enormously). Yet it has to be admitted that his demand for a welfare fund and safety measures is entirely justified, and also proper material for a labor contract. But the extreme Right and the extreme Left unite in not liking Lewis (including his eyebrows) and a lot of the weaker brethren in between will join with them in this sentiment.

At the same time, the moderates in both House and Senate are obviously alarmed that this personal dislike of one man, coupled with fear of him, may lead to legislation which will be unjust, and hence they, too, are irked at Lewis, for they feel that his handling of the negotiations (if they can be called that) led the country to the brink of disaster, and in so doing strengthened the hands of his enemies.

Yet they may well ask themselves what Lewis could do. It was obvious from the start that he could have the standard 18½ cents raise for the asking, and the meeting would be over. He had to put the long-overdue welfare and safety clauses first. Had he done otherwise, it would have been a heaven-sent chance for the operators. Once the wage raise was given, the country would have stood for no longer delay; and the operators, in refusing his just demands on welfare and safety, could readily gamble on an overall victory against organized labor in the Congress. The whole issue seems to be as simple as that. WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

THE INVITATIONAL SPEECH TOURNAMENT which is sponsored by Rockhurst High School, Kansas City, drew contestants this year from eighteen high schools. Winner of the tournament was Gordon Walls, a Negro eighth-grade pupil from Immaculate Conception School of St. Marys, Kansas. The event had this happy sequel. Hearing that Gordon ambitioned taking chemical engineering at Loyola University, Los Angeles, Father Edward J. Whelan, S.J., the president of Loyola, extended both a welcome and a scholarship to this "outstanding young man."

► And this is a reminder that the United Negro College Fund is in the midst of its third annual campaign to raise operating expenses for the thirty-three member colleges of the Fund. The goal is \$1,300,000. Total enrollment in the thirty-three colleges is 23,437. This year, Xavier University of New Orleans, the only Catholic Negro institution of higher learning in the United States, will benefit for the first time from the Fund.

► Friendship House of Chicago is conducting two summer sessions on "Catholic Interracial Techniques"—the first from June 30 to July 14, the second from July 21 to August 3. Both sessions will be held at St. Joseph's Farm, Marathon City, Wis. Lectures and discussion will center on three subjects: the doctrine of the Mystical Body, the basis of all human relations; the liturgy, which presents the fulness of Christian living; interracial techniques, or the methods and devices for practical application of principles to interracial problems. Priests, seminarians, laymen and laywomen may enroll in the sessions.

► We hope that an item in the current *Queen's Work* will interest our readers as much as it gave comfort to our Business Office. It seems that Nazareth Academy, Rochester, N. Y., circulates, each month of the school year, 1,280 copies of AMERICA, 1,000 copies of the *Queen's Work*, 475 copies of *Catholic Missions* and 300 copies of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. Another 20 Catholic periodicals are made available to the students. This apostolate, it may be whispered confidentially, owes its initiative and zest to Sister Frances Teresa, professor of English at Nazareth, with, of course, the unusually effective help of the Nazareth student body.

► The Catholic Press Association convention in Boston this week, May 23 to 25, will have the privilege of hearing Archbishop Cushing, who is host to the convention, and Archbishop Murray of St. Paul, who is Episcopal Chairman of the NCWC Press Department. At the opening session, Simon Baldus, managing editor of *Extension*, will reminisce on his fifty years as a Catholic editor.

A. P. F.

Action Now to Avert Famine

THIS NATION is not yet doing what it can and must do to save one quarter of the inhabitants of the globe from famine. This is a simple fact; even the most cursory reading of the news reveals it. Consequences of the fact are unbelievably disastrous. Action—direct, clear, comprehensive action—must today be taken if millions are to be saved.

This country is not doing all it can. True, in the words of the Pope, "the United States has generously taken the lead in the great world offensive against famine." True, we have shipped abroad during the 1945-46 crop year some 450,000,000 bushels of grain, a record unparalleled in history. Nevertheless we still have abundance within our borders while millions slowly and agonizingly starve. Waste in the home, black-market operations by feeders, packers and distributors, selfishness among some of our farmers, plain thoughtlessness all around, and insufficient foresight and courage in our Government combine to make us ashamed of the abundance that is ours.

Our country is not doing what it must. We must, because it is a matter of Christian charity and of justice. Today, despite the war and shortages in certain fields, the average American eats what he needs and more; yet no nation can claim a right to abundance while other nations starve. We must, because world economic recovery depends on a healthy world. We must, because the very peace we strive to achieve cannot have a firm foundation on the exhaustion, the fear and suspicion, the disillusionment which sap the physical and moral energies of the famine stricken everywhere.

We have heard, we are still hearing, the most authoritative voices which can speak to our consciences reminding us that we must do more. The Pope has solemnly reminded us that "famine is the cause of incalculable unrest, in the midst of which the future peace, as yet only in the germ, would run the risk of being suffocated before being born." There is, he said, a "grave responsibility before God" pressing on those who have official positions, and a "yet graver" responsibility on those "whose cruel selfishness in hoarding and hiding provisions or in any other way shamefully exploiting misery" works hardship on the hungry "for personal profit in illicit speculations or vile forms of trade." There is a grave obligation, as well, on individuals "who stir up delusions among the hungry by their extravagance."

The Archbishops and Bishops of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference have added their collective voice to that of the Holy Father. Individual prelates, notably Cardinal Spellman in his pastoral of May 5, have underscored the fact that we have not yet done enough. Our President has pledged that we will "help to the limits of our strength," while members of Congress have repeatedly insisted that we must do more.

It is with a view to making clear to AMERICA readers what more can and should be done, that this Review indorses the plan made public in an open letter to the President on May 11. AMERICA was signatory to that letter, with the 100 American leaders who signed along with former Director of UNRRA Lehman. Several nationally known agricultural economists were among the signers and endorsed the feasibility of the plan. Our readers are now urged to lend active support to the following concrete and comprehensive measures proposed in the letter. They are:

1. Increase the program of wheat exports, for the period

April 1-June 30, from 125 million bushels to 250 million bushels (a program which still would leave us more than a third of the current supply of wheat and wheat products.)

2. Increase meat exports for the same period from the 700 million pounds to which we are committed, to 1,500 million pounds (drawing on Army and Navy stocks and some civilian supplies to speed shipments, but replacing shortly from an expanded slaughtering program).

3. Double export shipments of fats and oils (by using supplies not essential here, and by an expanded hog-slaughtering program).

4. Treble exports of needed dairy products, especially cheese and evaporated, condensed and dried milk (by increased production and cuts in unnecessary consumption).

5. Fulfill our rice-export commitments by re-purchasing stocks already in distribution channels in this country (still leaving nearly three-fourths of the supply for ourselves).

The success of such a program depends entirely upon immediate adoption of strong national food policies. These imply: 1) use by the President of his war powers to requisition for export the needed foods, since purely voluntary procedures now cause fatal delay; 2) payment of premiums (for the present) to producers whenever they would suffer serious loss through requisitioning; 3) readjustment of eating habits and production programs, with government encouragement and assistance, so as to make available the needed basic foods; 4) re-imposition of food rationing, at once if possible, so as to guarantee continued supplies for the duration of the crisis.

Rationing—certainly at the source, most likely also for the consumer—now is inevitable if the world's very meager food supply will be equitably distributed. The letter stresses that the crisis will not pass with the new crops in July. Later, Acting Secretary of State Acheson, on the authority of Sir John Orr, noted food expert and Director of the Food and Agricultural Organization of United Nations, has declared that the crisis may possibly endure for five years, and surely for one or two.

The implementation of the program urged above implies hardship for some. Mills cannot but close for want of grain, and millers will be out of work. Bakers, wholesale and retail distributors, already feel the pinch of suddenly reduced sales. Farmers and cattle-feeders take reluctantly to the large-scale cattle- and hog-slaughtering programs which reduction in feed-grain and increased meat export entail. Those who sold grain before raising of parity prices and offering of premiums are naturally resentful of hoarding neighbors who profit by their selfishness. We can only hope our Government will make good to those who must thus bear hardships, even while strongly resisting proven black-market operators and hoarders of food. To this end the price and subsidy programs for meat and certain other foods would seem to need some revision.

For the consumer inconvenience is inevitable. We are frank to admit it. But it is now time to recognize the sacrifices which charity forces upon us.

"The American people will back you up, Mr. President," declares the letter which AMERICA hereby endorses. We are convinced of that backing; but "significant quantities of food cannot be shipped in time unless every resource of the Government is brought to bear on this problem now." Of this we are also convinced.

THE EDITORS

THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE IN SPAIN

RICHARD E. TWOHY

IN RECENT WEEKS we have been handed many "keys" to Spain's troubles, but none that comes anywhere near unlocking the real Spanish problem. The investigation of Spain as a threat to international security now being conducted by the UN Security Council is an interesting aspect of Big-Four power politics. As such it will treat the Spanish issues as subordinate to the dominant conflict over control of Europe and the Mediterranean. The current magazine and newspaper articles on Spain discuss the complex problem in even more ambiguous terms. From most of these one could never learn that Spain's history goes back a bit beyond 1931 and enshrines values more significant than such as are represented by the juxtaposition of "fascism" and "democracy." Nor have we much to learn from arguments oral or written, the pith of which is either: "Sure, I'm for Franco. He's a Catholic isn't he?" Or: "Of course I'm for intervention. Franco's a fascist, isn't he?"

This article does not propose a solution to the Spanish problem. The Spanish people themselves may or may not work that out for themselves. No one else ever will. All I propose here is a statement of the basic issues which, whether we Americans like it or not, any real solution of Spain's problem must confront and resolve. The main issues which in Spain's history have caused division, bloodshed and agony, and could do so again, are these: 1) the religious question; 2) the economic problem; 3) dynastic quarrels; 4) separatist movements. Incomparably the deepest and most important of these issues is the first.

BOURBON "LIBERALISM"

Religion in Spain was not always a sign of division. On the contrary, it is a commonplace of Spanish history that the Catholic religion fashioned the Spanish nation by providing the dynamic inspiration and unity by which the Spanish people gradually, through 700 years, won back their land from the Moslem invaders and set up a Christian state that for all Europe led the way to representative democracy. An anti-Catholic, and deeply anti-Hispanic, spirit entered Spain for the first time with the advent of the French Bourbon dynasty in 1713. On the juridical plane the Bourbons always insisted upon the Gallican concept of Church-State relationship. The essence of this idea was that the State should subordinate and control the Church in every matter in which the State defined a primary interest. The point at issue here is that the Catholic Church cannot regard itself as a purely human, voluntary association, subject, as such, to arbitrary *raisons d'état*. It is a divinely instituted society with a divinely appointed way of helping mankind to eternal salvation. On this point the Church has no alternative but to refer the unsatisfied to God.

The Spanish Bourbons called themselves, and wished to be, Catholics. However, the men they brought with them, or recruited on Spanish soil as agents of the Gallican design, were deeply inimical not only to the Catholic Church, but to the Christian concept of God and of human society. These were the men of the Enlightenment with its inherent atheism, its pale and sterile rationalism, its defiant principle, "man is the measure of all things." These were the men who founded the Spanish Lodges of Grand Orient Masonry, whose immense power was always at the service of principles profoundly anti-Christian and anti-social. It is very significant

that these men who established the tradition of anti-Catholicism in Spain—the tradition of an Azaña and even a de Madariaga—did so, as their successors hope to do again, by using the preferments and perquisites of a political power, gained by conquest or sheer audacity, to control the superficies of Spanish life. They have never touched the heart of Spain. When they come close to that, blood flows.

In the eighteenth century Gallicanism had been the stalking horse of anti-religion. In the nineteenth century it was Liberalism. In the name of Liberalism, but actually for the sake of covering the criminal malfeasance of the ruling cliques, numerous raids were made upon Church properties. In 1851, when nothing was left to raid, the state entered into a concordat with the Vatican which legalized the degradations on condition that the state should pay a small annual stipend to the clergy. There are some notable facts contained or implied here: 1) the Church in Spain, though its wealth at one time was in excess of what the common good of the nation could sustain, acquired that wealth by free gift and for the purpose of supporting its essential works, especially the education of its clergy; 2) the state might have justly insisted upon the return of some of the Church's property to common use; it could do so, however, only upon condition it made proper allowance for the essential purposes which the property served; 3) as a matter of fact, the state paid only a slight fraction of what it had contracted to pay, and finally, in 1931, the Republic unilaterally abolished the contract.

TYRANNY MASQUERADES AS LIBERTY

The undeviating attack of Spanish Liberalism upon the essential rights of the Catholic Church, and its unmitigated hypocrisy in advancing a violent tyranny in the name of human liberty (or, as in 1868, in the name of sixteen different kinds of liberty!) has had more than one lamentable effect. In the first place it was successful in one of its chief aims—that of depriving the Church of the independent means of educating the clergy. This loss resulted in some instances in the lowering of the standards of education, in others of a deplorable dependence upon certain wealthy individuals. For both reasons the average product of the Spanish seminaries was often ill-equipped to play the part he should have played in preserving the working classes both from capitalist and communist exploitation.

Moreover, the travesty of liberty as acted out by Spanish Liberal governments undoubtedly drove many Spanish Catholics into hopeless reaction. We may lament this but we cannot deal harshly with it. I wonder how any normal American would feel had he the experience of living a while under the sixteen "liberties" of a Spanish Liberal government? Listen to his normal response to talk of Four Freedoms in Yugoslavia! E. Allison Peers, the foremost English authority on Spanish affairs, and not a Catholic, reviews a few of the characteristic acts of Spanish governments down to 1936 and concludes with the following just observation: "Who can wonder if a vast body of faithful Catholics began to identify political Liberalism with attacks on the Church and to look upon it as an eighth deadly sin?" (*Thought*, June, 1938, p. 273).

The admitted object of Spanish Liberalism, pursued through all phases of national life—in institutional law, in restrictive measures against the Church, through control of education—was simply to secularize the Catholic religion, i.e., to reduce the Church to the level of a voluntary society dependent for life upon the State. Aside from this, the Liberals always posed as "friends of religion." More honest, reasonable and coherent was the revolutionary attitude of

the disciples of Marx and Bakunin. The exhaustion of the Church, the apathy or ignorance of many of the clergy of all ranks, the social anarchy logically consequent upon nineteenth-century Liberalism had all contributed to drive the exploited urban masses into the ranks of the Communists and Anarchists. It was a movement of desperation but, in view of their abandonment by both Church and State, they had reason to be desperate. From their new position they hurled fanatic defiance at all authority and frequently, in the fifty or so years preceding the Republic, punctuated their defiance by acts of violence, particularly against the Church.

THE REPUBLIC VS. THE CHURCH

We are now prepared to examine the terms of the religious conflict as they developed under the Spanish Republic and led inevitably to civil war. In the first place, it is important to recall that the Republic came into being without a clear mandate from the people after seven years of a mild dictatorship, the worst faults of which, besides unconstitutionality, were its arbitrary and unpredictable sallies of favor and blame. Despite its questionable origin, the Republic was born in a friendly and hopeful atmosphere. Though there is some foundation to the charge that the dictatorship had yielded too readily to clerical pressures, it cannot be said that the Church from the outset was unfriendly to the republican idea. Allison Peers notes that "many of the clergy were good Republicans or had at least Republican sympathies . . . and the attitude of the hierarchy was not merely correct, but generous in the extreme" (*Thought*, June, 1938, p. 279).

In face of the above facts, any impartial observer would certainly have expected the Republican leaders to reciprocate the friendly attitude and to strive to achieve an understanding upon which Church and State could cooperate in serving Spain. That they did not do so but, rather, from the very beginning devoted their best energies to the suppression of religion proved conclusively that implacable hatred of the Catholic Church still dominated the thinking of the bourgeois Liberal in Spain. It was this ruling passion more than any other factor that brought about the impossible alliance, so tragic to the Republic, between the Liberals and the extreme Left.

Since it is a matter of public record, there is no need here to record in detail the many tyrannical measures passed by the Republic against the rights of Catholics. Salvador de Madariaga, a staunch Republican then and now, tells us that "the new rulers were intent on a frontal attack," and accurately describes their policy as "suicidal." "The 1931 enthusiasts completed the mistake of their elders and threw their potential allies, the parish priests, into bitterness and rebellion." (*Spain*, S. de Madariaga, N. Y. 1943, pp. 309-310.) Besides its "legal" flourishes of tyranny, the Republic must also answer for habitual criminal neglect of the first duty of a state—the security of life. As long as the outrages and violence were perpetrated against the Catholic Church or its ministers, it was considered no business of the state. In the first four months of 1936 (the Civil War began in July) 170 churches, religious houses or seminaries were burned and attempts were made to destroy 251 more.

When the Civil War had begun, the situation worsened. On this point let us hear from a Cabinet Minister, and later an ambassador, of the Spanish Republic:

... the fact that the Church was being ruthlessly persecuted . . . can only be disputed or contested by ignorant or prejudiced critics. Whether the priests murdered were 16,000 or 1,600 time will say. But that for months, years perhaps, the mere fact of being a priest

was tantamount to a capital sentence, and the fact that no Catholic worship was allowed at all till the end of the war or very nearly, and the fact that churches and cathedrals were used as markets and thoroughfares for animal-driven vehicles, cannot be disputed. (de Madariaga, *op. cit.*, p. 376.)

The usual rebuttal of the above facts is twofold: 1) the outrages cited were the work of Anarcho-Syndicalists and Communists, not of moderate Republicans; 2) the Church herself was to blame for most of her sufferings.

The first apology reveals, implicitly, the most radical defect of the Republic. The basic reason why "moderate" Republicans did not act against the Left was because they dared not. Anti-Catholicism was so essential to the program of most "moderate" Republicans (moderate in all things save hatred of the Catholic religion) that they would not moderate it even if it involved, as it did, an alliance with forces that would discredit the Republic and bring it to ruin. This emphasizes the real insanity of the "Liberal" tradition in Spain. It consistently refuses to recognize (even today) two truths that rise mountain-high from the history of Spain: 1) no government can avert catastrophe, much less achieve social order and prosperity, if its purposes and methods are anti-Catholic; 2) the attempt to conduct such a government in Catholic Spain is not only undemocratic, but because it is undemocratic must always lead desperate rulers into alliances with parties that advocate and effect violence and chaos.

The second apology—that the outrages against the Church are due to the reactionary and unpopular attitude of churchmen—contains a grain of truth that makes it particularly irritating. The grain of truth is that a number of churchmen, and Spanish Catholics, are too quick to oppose force with force and too slow to recognize the fact, and to undertake a laborious program in keeping with the fact, that in the Spanish pre-Enlightenment political tradition are contained principles and methods which provide for the freest possible play of human and civil liberties within the limits of social order. The charge, however, is irritating because it neatly overlooks the fact that the consistent and violent extremism of the Liberals provoked the counter-extremism of Catholics; and it does not take into account the all-important fact that the Liberals when in power did everything possible to prevent churchmen and Catholics from securing the education, the security and the positions with which they might have played the part they should have played in creating a balanced and prosperous social order in Spain.

NEXT FEW YEARS DECISIVE

The next few years will be decisive in the Spanish history of our times. For that reason it is imperative that men of good will, men who prize peace and justice above the triumphs of any ideology, ponder well the lessons contained in the above historical outline of the Spanish religious issue. We might summarize them thus: 1) men of all shades of political opinion must accept the fact that it is not only wrong, morally and politically, to attempt a government in Spain contrary to the basic principles of Christianity, but time and again it has been proved the surest way to disorder and bloodshed; 2) Spanish Catholics must, at all costs, demonstrate that they can not only oppose evil, but fight as well for the realization of a political and social order that secures the commonweal in justice and freedom. In all fields of their endeavor they must distinguish precisely between real objective necessities of religious and political order and mere partisan preferences. With respect to the latter they must abandon, by ascetic effort, the extremism and intoler-

ance that have sometimes discredited the Spanish character.

It is my opinion, not formed from the daily press, that the present Government of Spain, particularly within the past year, has made appreciable strides toward this goal. That there are further strides to be made is evident to all. Yet when one remembers the atmosphere in which it began, the exhaustion of postwar Spain, the truculence of the Falange, the heartbreaking droughts, the dictatorial demands of the Axis over against the pressures of the Allies—and the subsequent onslaught of the Soviets—one cannot withhold a due measure of admiration for the Government's many achievements. It was this sort of fair-minded appraisal that moved Larry La Rue, one of the top foreign correspondents of the Chicago *Tribune*, to declare in a recent dispatch to his paper: "The coordinated anti-Franco *démarche* smacks of hypocrisy to the point of absurdity. The Spanish people are enjoying a greater measure of the four freedoms than most European countries." (Chicago *Tribune*, Mar. 16, 1946.) If it can weather the present storm there is good hope that a peaceful transition, so much desired by the best elements in Spain itself, may continue toward a sound, democratic and Christian State.

For those who doubt the ability or will of the present Government to effect this transition, let me point out that no alternative offers any comparable hope. In the midst of the Civil War, Allison Peers wrote:

If either the Moscow Communists or the million Anarcho-Syndicalists get the upper hand in Spain, we may be absolutely certain that an attempt will be made to eliminate Christianity there the like of which the world has not yet seen. This is the considered opinion of a student of Spain—and of the religious situation in Spain—over many years.

Who will dare assert that the Giral government would be any less under Moscow's sway than its predecessor was in 1938? Is that what American liberals want?

LORD KEYNES AND THE MORALS OF MONEY

SISTER M. THOMASINE

THE LOSS OF LORD KEYNES is of real significance, not merely because of his leadership in international monetary affairs but more especially because he was the first distinguished English economist of our times whose economic policies were motivated by courageous moral convictions. To him, as to few others of his contemporaries, economics was a branch of moral philosophy. Indeed, to Keynes it was the "most agreeable branch of the moral sciences, in which theory and fact, intuition and imagination, are blended in a manner comfortable to the human intellect."

For over a hundred years such a viewpoint had not been accepted among the so-called orthodox economists. Economic life and thought, in their opinion, were usually separated from, if not at variance with, general moral standards. The rich, according to liberal economic teaching, performed a service for society when they were concerned only with the accumulation of wealth. By so acting they, as a group, could provide a rapidly developing capitalistic economy with sufficient funds and, hence, indirectly provide the poor with ample employment opportunities. It was, therefore, a special blessing to society when the rich became richer.

Contrariwise, the poor as a laboring group did not benefit either themselves or society by securing a larger share of

the national wealth. Higher wages would ultimately injure the laboring classes, since they would thereby be encouraged to increase their numbers and thus lower future wage levels. Furthermore, higher money wages—it was and is still believed by some—lessened the prospects of economic prosperity. By so raising costs—for wages throughout most of the nineteenth century constituted a large part of total costs—labor placed a national economy at a competitive disadvantage in the world market. Therefore the general conclusion of this type of economics was that, although the state should remain unconcerned about the consequences of great inequalities of wealth, the rich were free to do as they wished with their possessions but the poor were subjected to dismal economic laws. Such was the amorality of liberal economic thought.

EVOLUTION OF AN ECONOMIC CREED

Such were the notions, too, that Lord Keynes as economist and moralist vigorously denounced. His denunciation, to be sure, was neither sudden nor, at first, certain. It was rather the result of gradual development. During his entire career as an economist who diagnosed the symptoms of false prosperity and prolonged depression which beset capitalism in the inter-war period, Keynes' attitude toward prevailing economic misconceptions—especially those that upheld the irresponsibility of the rich and the inevitably tragic fate of the poor—became increasingly mature.

His concern over the moral consequences of public monetary policies first became evident in the nineteen-twenties. Three problems—reparation payments, inflation and deflation, and the re-adoption of the gold standard—interested Keynes at this time. Each of these, in turn, he discussed in both their economic and moral consequences. His denunciation, in 1920, of the huge reparation payments demanded by the Treaty of Versailles was something more than a prophecy of the economic chaos that would follow. It was likewise a challenging exposure of the fact that the Treaty itself was created . . . "without nobility, without morality, without intellect." His distress in 1923 over the social consequences of the changing value of money in the postwar years was not merely a professional concern over mismanaged monetary affairs, but rather a deep awareness of the great injuries inflicted upon the public by uncontrolled inflation and deflation. Here Keynes, with the indignation proper to a moralist, declares that deflation seems worse than inflation because "it is worse in an impoverished world to provoke unemployment than to disappoint the *rentier*." Then, too, Keynes' disapproval, in 1925, of Britain's re-adoption of the gold standard arose not so much from his disagreement with the government in power—or, as he called it, *The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill*—as from the realization that the sufferings of the poor would be increased by the consequent unemployment in the export industries. During all these years, in fact, Keynes was fearless in reminding states of their obligations in a postwar world.

By the beginning of the great depression in the 'thirties, Lord Keynes' concern over monetary problems had grown into a determined resolution to inquire into "the false premises and false conclusions of unrestricted *laissez-faire*. . . ." The nineteenth century, he explained, had been a period of rapid economic growth, one that required, protected and encouraged vast accumulations of wealth. The liberal moral philosophy permitted men to do as they liked with their money, while the enormous demand for savings seemed to justify great economic inequalities. In any case, the spirit of the century favored the thrifty and the rich. Thus Keynes states: "The morals, the politics, the literature and

the religion of the age joined in a grand conspiracy for the promotion of saving. God and Mammon were reconciled. Peace on earth to men of good means. A rich man could, after all, enter into the Kingdom of Heaven—if only he saved."

The helplessness of capitalism during the great depression brought Keynes and many other thoughtful persons to the realization that decisions regarding national wealth could no longer be wholly individualistic or haphazard if unemployment was to be avoided. The rich, he then discovered and proved to his own satisfaction, could not be allowed, in the face of recurring depressions, to remain irresponsible about their wealth, since recovery was impeded as much by the hoarding of the rich as by the reduced consuming power of the poor. Even international investment in its struggle for markets should, Lord Keynes believed, be controlled to some extent; otherwise it would increase the dangers of war and enlarge to world scale the deplorable consequences of irresponsible ownership. Yet, while admitting the necessity of a new public attitude toward wealth, he recognized from the outset the difficulties involved. In 1932 he wrote: "The transition from economic anarchy to a regime which deliberately aims at controlling and directing economic forces in the interest of social justice and social stability will present enormous difficulties both technical and political. I suggest, nevertheless, that the true destiny of the New Liberalism is to seek their solution."

A PROGRAM FOR PROSPERITY

To this end, therefore, Lord Keyes first urged that the excess savings and idle funds of the rich be taxed and borrowed by governments and spent on public works. He also advocated a reduction in the interest rate to facilitate borrowing and expansion by private industry. A modern economy, he later observed, does not enrich itself by piling up money when a large sector of its population is without work. In this respect, it seemed to him that the medieval policy of enforcing usury laws to keep interest rates low and of encouraging numerous holidays and time-consuming public works was more sensible than was the capitalistic custom of accumulating wealth.

When, toward the end of the 'thirties, the rich continued to hoard their money and business men still refused to borrow even at low interest rates, Keynes proposed a second solution in his *General Theory*. The advance was to be made on both the production and consumption fronts at once, production being aided by direct governmental investment, and under-consumption remedied by all sorts of measures. Moreover, hoarded wealth was now judged to be not only a serious obstacle to recovery but also without social sanction. In a famous passage Keynes asserts:

Thus our argument leads to the conclusion that in contemporary conditions the growth of wealth, so far from being dependent on the abstinence of the rich as is commonly supposed, is more likely to be impeded by it. One of the chief social justifications of great inequality is, therefore, removed.

By 1940, although Keynes' spending programs as adapted by the United States still lagged behind his expectations for recovery, and he believed it politically impossible, apart from war, to organize expenditures on a sufficiently large scale to prove his case, he was convinced that great inequalities in wealth, wasted resources and permanent unemployment would not much longer be tolerated by modern society. Indeed, like Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia*, he envisaged a stage in economic development in which monetary wealth would become so abundant as to be interest-free, and men

themselves become so accustomed to this condition as to be relieved somewhat from their covetousness and greed. At the same time, however, Keynes was preeminently practical about the importance of money in contemporary life, his policies advocated in *How to Pay for the War* illustrating the fact that he was as anxious to avert the economic consequences of wartime inflation as he had been eager to promote recovery in the 'thirties.

POSTWAR RECOMMENDATIONS

It was in these war years, again, that Lord Keynes began what was to become his last great economic service to our times. In 1943, as an official of the British Treasury, he proposed an International Clearing Union to stabilize currencies and balance creditor and debtor accounts in the postwar period of international trade. This plan required creditor nations to make available to the Union and to debtor countries the balances they did not choose to use for buying goods or services or making overseas investments.

Here Keynes applied on a vast scale his moral convictions regarding modern capitalism and the place of wealth in the economy. Rich creditor nations, like rich individuals, he maintained, have an obligation to employ their surplus wealth for the promotion of world trade and employment, even as debtor nations that are seriously striving toward recovery have the right to be assisted in their needs. Such assistance, because it will raise the level of international purchasing power, will indirectly benefit creditor nations. In other words, in the international economy as well as within the nation, the rich are more certain of remaining relatively prosperous if the consuming power of the poor is substantially improved.

Although the Clearing Union was not accepted by large creditor nations, the compromise plan drafted at Bretton Woods embodied Keynes' principle that wealth, either individually or nationally owned, implies social obligations. Greater limits, to be sure, were placed on the borrowing rights of the debtor nations in the Bretton Woods arrangements. Yet, for the first time in modern history, wealthy nations with large surplus credits were obliged to render an account of their import and investment policies to an international organization.

To persuade Parliament of the necessity for accepting this compromise plan, so distasteful to Britain as a debtor nation, and to win his country over to consenting to the equally distasteful provisions of the Anglo-American loan, were the final burdens assumed by Lord Keynes for the cause of international peace. Neither of these tasks proved easy. Although possessed of remarkable persuasive powers, he was by this time tired and ill and under great strain. Nevertheless he attempted in December, 1945, to explain why he, the avowed opponent of interest rates, had not succeeded in obtaining for Britain an interest-free loan. He defended at this time, too, his acceptance of the gold standard and his new frontier in economic thought:

It is not easy to have patience with those who pretend that some of us, who were very early in the field to attack and denounce the false premises and false conclusions of unrestricted *laissez-faire* and its particular manifestations in the former gold standard and other currency and commercial doctrines which mistake private license for public liberty, are now spending their later years in the service of the state to walk backwards and resurrect and re-erect the idols which they had played some part in throwing out of the market place. Not so. Fresh tasks now invite. Opinions have been successfully changed. The work of destruc-

tions has been accomplished and the site has been cleared for a new structure.

By demonstrating the fact that prolonged mass unemployment instead of prosperity will result from great inequalities of wealth and a *laissez-faire* attitude on the part of government, Lord Keynes has cleared the way for a new approach to economic welfare—one in which moral and economic convictions are no longer in conflict. He has attained in great part, then, what he had determined in his younger years to accomplish. As early as 1921, Professor D. H. Robertson, in reviewing *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, declared that Keynes in his treatment of economic problems had written as a theologian. In this almost unconscious role of theologian Lord Keynes has expounded the morals of money in our modern economy by maintaining certain ethical principles which closely parallel those of the social encyclicals of the more recent Popes.

PRICE CONTROL: WHY AND HOW LONG?

T. A. MOGILNITSKY

JOHN ADAMS, the second President of the United States, wrote as follows: "I am old enough to remember the war of 1745 and its end, the war of 1755 and its close, the war of 1775 and its termination, the war of 1812 and its pacification. Every one of these wars has been followed by general distress, embarrassments of commerce, destruction of manufactures, and a fall in the prices of produce and of lands."

Were John Adams still living he would have added the consequences of the Civil War and World War I, and would have warned the nation that similar results would follow this war if the persistent lessons of history are disregarded by the people.

It is evident that wars bring definite periods which follow one another—a period of unusual business activity, a period of readjustment, a period of recovery and expansion and a long period of depression. Will the United States escape these historical patterns that have followed every preceding war?

During World War II everyone accepted price control and rationing as necessary to conserve scarce commodities needed for war and to ensure adequate and equitable distribution of scarce necessities of life for the people. After the war, rationing was removed but not price controls. Consumer goods continue to be scarce, in some cases even scarcer than during the war. What is the reason? Producers maintain that the continuance of price controls makes production unprofitable. As soon as price controls are abolished, they say, prices can advance and manufacturers will start flooding markets with goods. This rise of prices would be temporary, they argue, for as the supply of commodities increased and the demand for them became more satisfied, prices would decline and a new equilibrium of stable economy would be achieved.

This argument sounds reasonable, but its validity rests on one assumption: that the majority of people have large enough current incomes and are willing enough to buy goods and services at higher prices indefinitely. On this assumption conditions of a stable economy can be achieved.

Unfortunately, the above assumption is not true to the facts. If prices go up, producers will be faced with two possibilities. First, since the current incomes of the majority of the people are not high enough to support an economy

of rising prices, they will be forced to buy less goods. When the demand for goods decreases, many producers and sellers will be forced out of business, causing unemployment which will further depress business. In this case high prices lead to depression.

The second result of higher prices may be demands for higher wages, which in turn will cause still higher prices, and so on. In this case, high prices engender a spiral of inflation. Thus an indiscriminate removal of price controls during the present period of readjustment would bring, not a stable economy, but either depression, or inflation followed by depression.

If we glance at a chart of prices in the United States since 1750, we would see recurrent peaks and valleys after every war fought by this country. If former wars are long forgotten, certainly the consequences of World War I should be fresh in the minds of those who are old enough to remember them.

After that war, when price controls were removed, prices fell from an index of 203 in December, 1918, to one of 193 in February, 1919. Then they began to rise steadily, reaching their highest point—240—by May, 1920. Yet the output of commodities increased very little. The index of industrial production advanced only from 66 in March, 1919, to 82 in February, 1920. Obviously, high prices did not create abundance of commodities. High prices resulted in speculation and hoarding of goods in anticipation of still higher prices. Prices were high and consumer goods were scarce. Consumers decided to take drastic measures; they went on a consumers' strike. When they refused to buy at high prices, the country passed, in about 13 months—from May, 1920, to June, 1921—from a boom to a great depression, during which more than six million were unemployed. Prices during this period dropped from 240 to 135, and the depression lasted until the end of 1922.

REAL ISSUES TO BE MET

The real causes of the present scarcity of goods have been labor unrest, reconversion of industries and the hope of producers that Congress would abolish price controls. This hope led some producers to hoard goods in expectation of higher prices. Many producers believe that consumers can well afford to pay high prices by using their savings in addition to their current incomes. This is the most dangerous theory, for when savings are spent and current incomes are insufficient to support an economy of higher prices, a most disastrous deflation must follow. For this reason it will be much safer during this period of transition from war to peace to adjust some price ceilings, to remove controls from non-essential goods and those which show balance between supply and demand, rather than to remove all controls on a theory that rising prices would increase production.

Of course, when the danger of inflation or depression has passed, all price controls should be removed, for the American economy of free enterprise based upon reasonable profits functions in the most efficient manner under those conditions.

WHO'S WHO

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THE DEMOCRATIC CHURCH

EDITOR

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH is, in one sense, the greatest democracy on earth. When, through her Supreme Pontiff, she speaks on the moral bases of political, economic or social movements, the unbiased student will invariably hear in her voice the articulate statement of sentiments, of convictions, that are the inarticulate desires of the peoples of the world. So it was when the Popes gave, in their labor and social encyclicals, specification and direction to the desires and hopes of the working classes throughout the world; so it was when *Mit Brennender Sorge* defined clearly for the first time, and set in precise terms, the general and vague impressions of millions that something was radically wrong with nazism.

This truth was given cogency recently by the circumstances which surrounded the address of the Holy Father to some 40,000 Italian women, gathered to honor the Blessed Virgin. Several weeks before, France had had its vote on the Constitution and the result, as readers of AMERICA know (cf. "French Referendum," May 8, p. 125), was a decisive defeat for communism. That result set political observers to recalling, and what they recalled was that communism has not been voted into power in one single country in Europe where free elections have been held. The people of Western Europe obviously do not want communism; were there freedom of news-dissemination in the eastern countries under Russian domination, there is little doubt that the same truth would be discovered. It is even highly tenable that the people of Russia itself would vote to be free from totalitarianism, given the chance.

It is against this background that the Pope's words to the Italian women must be studied. He urged them to take part in the coming elections, to be held in three weeks; he stressed that they have not only the right, but the duty to vote, and the further duty to vote only "for those candidates or that list of candidates that offer, not vague and ambiguous promises, but sound guarantees that they will respect the rights of God and of religion."

Studied in the context, therefore, it will be seen that the Pope was urging Italy to join with the rest of Europe in asserting that totalitarianism, having been exorcized in one form, will not be welcomed again simply because its tint has changed from brown or black to red. In so doing, the Pontiff has spoken for the peoples of the world; he has stated clearly what they desire and hope.

Those who view all the statements of the Pope only in the light of sinister politics, will call such a plea for a vote against communism an unwarranted interference of the Church in politics. Actually, though called forth by a political situation, it goes far, far deeper than politics. It gets down to the deep roots of democracy, for it is a clear formulation of the considered will of the people.

If we may add a further note from the same papal address, the fact that the Church has the cause of true democracy at heart is increasingly evident. The Pope reminded the Italian women:

... in your ballot you hold in your hand the higher interest of your country. It is a question of guarding, conserving, for your people, their Christian civilization; for their daughters and wives, their dignity; for their families, their Christian mothers. . . . Be conscious of your responsibility.

This concept of the sacredness of the ballot, of its power, not merely to elect this or that man, this or that party, but to shape the future of a Christian country—that concept

might profitably be rejuvenated here at home. In reiterating that truth, and in reminding the Italian people that he is speaking for the free peoples of the world when he interprets their desire to have nothing to do with communism, the Pope has done democracy a service.

POLISH LOAN

AT THE PRESENT WRITING the American loan to Poland is in a state of suspended animation. We say at the present moment advisedly, because the sequence of recent events has been such that, by the time this appears in print, the State Department may have changed its mind again and placed the loan in some other category. Here is what has happened so far.

On April 24, the State Department announced that it had concluded an agreement granting Poland a loan of \$90 million, \$50 million for the purchase of surplus Army equipment and a \$40 million credit from the Export-Import Bank. At the same time it published a series of notes relating to the loan which had been exchanged between Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State, and Oscar Lange, Ambassador of the so-called Provisional Government of Poland. Mr. Acheson's letter stipulated five obligations which the Polish Government was expected to assume as a condition for obtaining the loan. These obligations Mr. Lange accepted in one note, and then in a supplementary note, dated the same day, promised in addition that Poland would respect the Potsdam Agreement which called for "free and unfettered elections." Oddly enough, or perhaps not so oddly, there was no mention of this key condition in Mr. Acheson's note. It may not be without significance that Senator Vandenberg arose in the Senate on April 17 and stated very emphatically that all American loans "should be very definitely geared to the general attitude of any foreign government toward its other moral as well as fiscal obligations."

A dispatch from Paris on May 9 to the New York Times stated that American officials were not activating the \$50 million credit to Poland for surplus Army equipment because Warsaw had not lived up to one of the conditions, namely, publication in the Polish press of the notes exchanged by Mr. Acheson and Dr. Lange. A Polish spokesman in Washington professed not to be worried, said publication had been deferred because bad weather had delayed the arrival of the diplomatic courier bearing the documents. A more credible explanation seemed to be that the present Russian gang in control at Warsaw could not publish documents which would reveal to the Polish people that at both Yalta and Potsdam they had been promised the right of free elections.

The next day, May 10, Acting Secretary Acheson confirmed in Washington that deliveries on the \$50 million loan had indeed been suspended and that the \$40 million credit granted by the Export-Import Bank had not yet been activated. He said that our information indicated that Warsaw was not living up to its agreement.

There the matter stands at the present time. We trust that it will continue to stand there until the murderous so-called Provisional Government of Poland gives the persecuted Polish people, in accordance with the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, a fair chance to throw it out. And we would very much like to know how, in view of our

solemn commitments, Mr. Acheson was able to agree to the loan in the first place.

NATIONAL HEALTH BILL

CONGRESS has been guilty of no hasty action on the National Health Bill (S. 1606) which provides for a nationwide, comprehensive program. Despite the urgency of the matter—the war revealed how serious are the deficiencies of our present health arrangements—ample time had to be allowed for careful scrutiny and discussion. The proposed program calls for some radical changes in our approach to national health. These changes should not be undertaken until we are reasonably sure that the Health Act is as carefully drawn as possible. Specifically, the final draft should protect, as far as compatible with the necessary objectives, the liberties of individuals and the rights of private health institutions.

Senate Bill 1606 has avoided some of the objectionable features of its predecessor in the last Congress, but it still needs improvements. Competent critics point out that, as drawn, it: 1) does not sufficiently safeguard the autonomy of non-government hospitals which need protection as well as help; 2) gives the Surgeon General practically sole power of decision; 3) does not yet sufficiently safeguard the free choice of physician by the individual. These limitations can surely be corrected, even while preserving the general program with its praiseworthy objectives. We hope the hearings on the bill will result in the necessary changes.

In his Health Message, President Truman made clear that it is not the objective of the National Health Program to put into government hands what can be properly done by private and voluntary groups. Despite the claims of certain interested groups to the contrary, it is not the intention of our Government to introduce "socialized medicine"—meaning medical services provided by physicians employed by the Government—but rather to provide assistance and subsidies where they are obviously necessary and to organize an insurance program which will make pre-payment of medical expenses possible for all. Senate Bill 1606, aside from the limitations noted above, seems to have no other objective than that envisioned by the President.

Health insurance, as an expansion of social security, is but part—though a very important part—of the National Health Program. Compulsory health insurance is a departure from our traditional way of handling medical expenses. There is no reason, however, why it cannot be successfully introduced just as it has been already into thirty-two other countries, in none of which save one—the Soviet Union—has it also meant the objectionable "socialized medicine." Provided there is proper decentralization and avoidance of undue administrative interference with individuals, a compulsory health-insurance program could be made to work as successfully here as in these other countries. If adopted, however, it should be in a form which permits the maximum amount of voluntary association and cooperation for administration of health services, even while providing for compulsory prepayment.

In addition to remembering the need for prudence and proper safeguards in drafting a health bill, Congress should also remember that action on this matter is called for and will be increasingly demanded by the public.

TEACHERS IN AMERICA

THE TEACHER SHORTAGE is not just a critical problem *now*; nor is it due merely to the adversities of war. For however true it is that the war emergency emptied teachers' colleges of their students and the teaching profession of hundreds of thousands of teachers, there is still need to explain why teacher-college enrollments were on the decrease even before the war, why at the present time relatively few veterans and women are enrolling in teachers' colleges and why only a small proportion of the teachers who were on war leave are returning to the teaching profession. The answer to these questions will substantially determine not only why there are not *more* teachers, but why there are not *better* teachers in America.

Writing on this subject in the *New York Times Magazine* for May 12, Ernest O. Melby of New York University essayed a summary of the answers in a sentence. Teachers in America are "overworked, overcriticized, underpaid and somewhat confused" by the complexities of mass education. Specifically, he says, there are four reasons why we haven't more and better teachers: 1) the low economic position of the teaching profession; 2) the generally unfavorable attitude toward and treatment of the teacher; 3) the low level of qualifications and preparation for teaching; 4) the failure of American youth to view the teaching profession as a dynamic and challenging enterprise. To these a fifth reason should be added—the muddled state of public education, owing to a confusion of objectives and consequently to continual and often ill-advised experiment and change in curricular content and organization.

Certainly no one of these reasons is alone responsible for the teacher situation. Especially unrealistic is the belief, all too commonly held, that "to get more and better teachers all that is necessary is to pay more money." It would be much nearer the truth to say—if a compassing reason be sought—that all that is necessary is to restore the teaching profession to the public esteem it once held. Traditionally the teacher was a person of consequence, a member of a learned profession akin to priest, physician and lawyer, a master in Israel. In Catholic countries, particularly, teaching was regarded as a high vocation, because the true teacher broke the bread of knowledge, only less precious than the Bread of Life, to the people.

Is it possible to recapture and revive in our day this high regard for the teaching profession? We must surely make every effort to do so. Along with the good of the nation, our Catholic school system is at stake. For as Archbishop McNicholas warned Catholics a few weeks ago, unsurpassed as our educational achievement has been, "our work is only a little more than half finished," since we must bring another two million Catholic youth into our schools. If the Church in America is to accomplish this gigantic task, there is need of a great increase in teaching vocations—both religious and lay.

The needed increase will be hastened if our Catholic people reflect not alone on the importance which they, with all Americans, attach to education, but on the fact that in the last analysis education is only as good as the teacher. It will be hastened when our Catholic institutions of higher learning recognize and appreciate more fully the distinctive contribution which the lay teacher and scholar can make to the effectiveness of our intellectual apostolate. Then they will do more than they have in the past to make the teaching profession attractive to the best brains and characters among their scholars.

LITERATURE AND ART

CATHOLIC ART IN CATHOLIC ACTION

HELEN ANN ROHRET

FOR MOST PEOPLE, Christmas seems a little too far away to start shopping for Christmas cards, but not to our Catholic artists designing such cards. Most of us wait until about a week before Christmas, scribble our names very hastily on a dozen or more cards, and thrust them into a mailbox without glancing at the illustrations, unless maybe it would be to get a funny one for Uncle Mike or a holy one for Aunt Kate. Christmas cards seem just another one of those things that go with Christmas.

What better scene than Christmas could one choose to illustrate the simple, natural beauty of Catholic art, and in what better place than on Christmas cards could one disseminate such art? Three Catholic artists—Ade Bethune, Anne Grill, and Philip Hagreen—have examples of such Christmas cards in the Catholic Art Association Exhibit now on national tour. In the art column of *AMERICA*, April 27, Barry Byrne made a plea for traveling exhibitions of art similar to the one owned by Father Andrew Kelley, pastor of St. Anthony's Church in Hartford. The Catholic Art Exhibit is a fulfillment of the need which was voiced in this plea.

The exhibition of the CAA was displayed during the season of Lent at the Municipal Art Gallery in Davenport, Iowa. The purpose of the exhibition, according to CAA officials, is to show what artists of this group are accomplishing in "design tendencies which eliminate all personal expressionism." In an attempt to turn religious art back to its rightful province—a help in liturgical functions—the artists are seeking to do honest work in religious designs rather than to work as individuals.

The sixty productions comprising this exhibit include more than Christmas cards. There are wood engravings, ceramic pieces, stained glass, enamel work, silver work, book illustrations and paintings.

The most striking elements in the enameled crucifix by Ade Bethune are the lanced heart and the direct gaze of the face, which immediately snatch one's attention and hold it. The crucifix seems to have caught the haunting cathedral-hush effect of stained glass because of its angular form in broken-up geometrical patterns. Light values are brought out in the use of enamels in pastel colors of blue, pink and ivory, inlaid in patterns. The figure of enamel superimposed on metal is upon a wooden cross. Perhaps the layman would get a more clear-cut idea of the crucifix if he were to recall the well known picture of "Our Lady of Perpetual Help" with its heavy gold lines against a background of green or blue.

Going from this type of art to the more or less abstract is Denis Tegemeier's portrayal of the seven deadly sins engraved concretely in caricature. The men are in simplified robes in poses suggesting the sins, most evident of which are the haughty stance of pride, and the miserly cringing of avarice.

Accompanying the CAA exhibit in Davenport was a display of Mexican-Colonial art, the possession of the Davenport gallery, and the largest collection outside Mexico; this added to the exhibit, because Mexican-Colonial art came

forth naturally from Spanish Catholicism mingled with the freshness of view suggested by the sights and conditions of the new world.

Noteworthy in the Mexican art was a picture of the Descent from the Cross, for it exemplified the Mexican fondness for rich, deep colors. Most of us are perhaps familiar with this type of art through the Mexican-Indian blanket, and the pageantry of the rodeo.

In the same collection was a slightly marred specimen of such art, a picture of *Raphael and the Fish*, which has been repainted in part. At first it gives the impression of having been daubed up by some house painter, but the original contour is still discernible. The luminous face of the angel remains untouched, with its careful, though faded, shading suggesting its original delicacy.

Another example of this colorful art is *The Adoration of the Magi*. In all art the theme seems to gravitate back to the Nativity scene. Christmas is an integral part of Catholic art.

The Catholic artists in this exhibit express a spirit of simple reality. We are accustomed to the cult of prettiness, to sugar-sweetness, not to strength and roughness in our Christmas cards. The cards in the CAA exhibit are not filled with rapt angels and cherub-faced shepherds; they are dynamic and real. There is a certain ruggedness similar to the spirit of Christmas in the medieval mystery, *The Second Shepherd's Play*, from the Towneley cycle. In this play the shepherds are realistic; they are sincere. On the way they complain of the weather, their wages, and discuss their family affairs. As they kneel before Mary and the Child, the Infant Saviour smiles as each shepherd in turn presents his gift—a cluster of cherries, a bird and a ball. The infant is not wrapped in a delicate shawl with pretty pink ribbons; He is cold, and the shepherds, after bidding Mary farewell, comment upon the poverty on the way home. This spirit of Christmas seems to have found a happy embodiment in the CAA exhibit.

Both the CAA and Mexican exhibits furnished excellent foundation for discussion groups and study clubs. A poll of Catholics who had visited the exhibit showed that first in interest were the stained-glass pieces and illuminated manuscripts of the Reverend F. M. Catich, president of the CAA. Other pieces they remembered and mentioned were the Book of Gospels, a limited edition with wood engravings by Eric Gill; Ade Bethune's enameled crucifix and her stained glass designs, and Denis Tegemeier's illustrations of the seven capital sins.

The work of these artists is far removed from that which serves to advertise popular soft drinks and toilet soaps. For that reason, it is less familiar. At first, therefore, one may not like its spontaneity and simplicity, but he will be attracted to this simplicity and blink his eyes in realization of its truth. For instance, in the CAA exhibit, the Holy Family would not be pictured in soft pastel robes and glittering halos, their eyelids lowered and hands clasped; but Mary would be busy over the fire stirring the soup for supper, and Joseph would be coming in exhausted after a hard day's work, stooped, wiping the perspiration from his brow. Happy? Of course, but tired. And the Child Jesus would be skipping by his side with a bright cheerful smile—a beautiful, happy Holy Family.

The simple, natural beauty of this Catholic art is reminis-

cent of the wayside shrine in Mexico and Spain with its strength and endurance. To appreciate such art, one must walk along, must stop and look, and ponder over its meaning. Its features are rough—made to last. In contrast, on the modern automobile path with its whirling speed, one has only time for a glance. This Catholic art cannot be read like the Burma Shave road-signs—not even at the thirty-five-mile-per-hour wartime speed limit; nor can it be taken in while one eye is kept on the "S" curve sign ahead. The CAA exhibition is very different from the art in "the pause that refreshes" campaign. For real art, one may have to back up, look again, and then linger for a little while to ponder.

DUBLIN LETTER

IRELAND'S WEEK OF MUSIC. "One need not read her history, for Ireland is known to the world through her ballads and songs," said an American visitor the other day. This is undoubtedly true. The people preserved the Irish airs through the old pipers and wandering fiddlers and harpists, and by singing their songs when the ban on Irish music existed. To them we owe today the largest collection of folk airs—something like five thousand of them—of any country in the world.

Yet it was not until some fifty years ago that the serious cultivation of music began. There were always exceptions with composers through the centuries, but as an art of the people the Feis Ceoil, or Ireland's musical festival, is one of the most interesting stories in the cultural life of the country.

To Dr. Annie Patterson, the organist of Shandon church—Shandon of the bells—is due the creation of this Feis, which sees Dublin in the month of May crowded with young musicians from every corner of Ireland. They come from convents, colleges, academies, private institutions and working-men's clubs. There are bands and instrumentalists of all kinds, choirs from the various churches and singers of all classes.

Dr. Patterson, who gathered around her the most distinguished musicians and literary and artistic people of the day, could never have anticipated the success awaiting her work, which was to advance the study of Irish music, the study of music in general and the collection and preservation of the old music by publication. The organization of a Festival or Feis to be held in Dublin, offering prizes and awards to competitors, was the idea, and it has grown until it now attracts competitors each year.

The most distinguished judges are brought from all counties and the high standard demanded by the Feis has made an award from the judges a prize worth gaining. In consequence, there is keen rivalry from Donegal to Cork and from Dublin to Galway, to be classed as the premier tenor or baritone, or the finest choir in the country. The one competition which is most anxiously contested is that which carries an award of three years training in Milan and the musical future it promises.

During the week when these competitions are taking place in different halls at the same time, the public is admitted but no applause or comment permitted. On one occasion this command was ignored. It was the day when a raw-looking candidate walked onto the stage, pushed back an unruly lock of hair from his forehead, and then began to sing. The song he had chosen was *The Snowy-Breasted Pearl!* The young fellow had come from the Palestrina Choir in the

Pro-Cathedral, Marlborough Street, Dublin, a choir established by the late Edward Martyn and the Archbishop of Dublin. The young contestant was accompanied by the leader of that choir, Dr. Vincent O'Brien, who is still with us.

When the young fellow sang a few bars, the rich quality of his voice was immediately recognized, and when he finished, the outburst of cheering could not be stopped for several minutes. Of course John McCormack won the prize, which brought him to Italy, and equipped him as Ireland's ambassador of song everywhere. Perhaps John McCormack was destined to become famous in any event, but also perhaps he might never have been heard of but for the Dublin Feis.

It can be understood that each year excitement prevails in musical circles among students, professors, parents and, above all, in convents and colleges. The choirs are always contested, and the competition in plain song for the choirs is always interesting and surprising. The development in plain chant has increased considerably as a result of these competitions.

Perhaps the most valuable work of the Feis is the recording of the old music by the pipers and fiddlers. Most of these old musicians are gone, but the Feis accomplished an important task in securing all that they had.

KATHLEEN O'BRENNAN

PRIMP-UP FOR SPRING

Hold still, Earth! Stop jiggling.
How can one comb out frost and freeze
With wriggling?
Winter snarled up all your trees,
Pulled at pigtails just to tease . . .
And tangles try my patience. Please,
Stop wriggling!

Keep quiet, Earth! Complaining
Will never alter need of scour
For staining.
Your constant grumbling strikes one sour.
You should be grateful for an hour
Of soaking underneath a shower
Of raining.

All dressed up, Earth! Disarming,
Your eyes demure; the lure of lash,
Heart-warming.
Your bonnet's red where robinsplash,
Your kirtle greened with elm and ash,
Your apron tied with a blue-jay sash.
How charming!

LOUIS J. SANKER

BOOKS

DEHUMANIZATION OF MAN

THAT HIDEOUS STRENGTH. By C. S. Lewis. The Macmillan Co. \$3

THE FANTASTIC AND SPIRITUAL TRILOGY which Lewis began in *Out of the Silent Planet* and continued in *Perelandra* here draws to an end. Not a few authors in our times have worked in this medium of novel-serials: the fate and fortunes of Lanny Budd are still being tracked to their finale by Upton Sinclair; Jules Romains continues his epic of "Men of Good Will"; even James T. Farrell has started another saga of a young man out of joint with his times in his recent *Bernard Clare*.

But I know of no multiple-decker among the literature of modern times which approaches Lewis' three in depth and

Devotional Booklet for June

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by

THOMAS H. MOORE, S.J.

With full text of Pius XI's Encyclical on the
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spiritual insight and in dramatic interest. It is the nearest thing yet to measuring up to the stature of *Kristin Lavransdatter*.

For what Lewis deals with throughout the three volumes is a colossal conflict between good and evil. That epic struggle swept through the stellar spaces in the first two books, and if it is here, in *That Hideous Strength*, a little more domesticated in having its field of action confined to a tidy English university town instead of a strange planet, it has lost nothing of its deadliness.

The protagonists of the conflict are again Ransom (and it is not to be overlooked that the very name indicates that he is a symbol of Christ), and the inner circle of an organization called the National Institute of Co-ordinated Experiments, sardonically referred to, in our modern fashion of abbreviating, as the N.I.C.E. The directors of this Institute, not to put too fine a point on it, have simply sold their souls to the dark-eldils (the devils); their diabolical intent is to remake the human race, through their horrid experiments, so as to produce an utterly materialistic, soul-less, Godless mankind.

To this end, they have enlisted, while hiding their real purpose, the aid of many a scientist who is of the type to be fuel for their fire—men who, through their education, are so steeped in materialism that they might, little by little, come to accept unquestioningly the alliance with the powers of darkness; if they refused to accept, they could always simply be eliminated.

Mark Studdock is one of these guinea-pigs. He is not a bad man: "It must be remembered that in Mark's mind hardly one rag of noble thought, either Christian or Pagan, had a secure lodging. His education had been neither scientific nor classical—merely 'Modern.'" His wife, Jane, has strange, portentous dreams, which Ransom and his allies on the side of the angels come to realize are visions, omens—what word you will—sent to her by the forces of good as guides for action.

The immediate intent of both sides is to be the first to discover Merlin's Well, commonly believed to be in Bragdon Wood, near the College of Edgestrow. Merlin, it has been revealed, is still alive, and with his affinity both with the Christians (for he was one), and with the anti-God faction (for he had been an adept in something like the black art) whichever side wins his allegiance will have an ace in the winning of this hand in the great cosmic struggle which is to take place.

Ransom and his allies get there first, and the powers of evil are routed at a banquet which turns into a modern combination of Babel and the Black Hole of Calcutta; Merlin, standing above the bloody riot, sums up the meaning of the tale as he thunders: "*Qui Verbum Dei contempserunt, eis auferetur etiam verbum hominis*" (They that have despised the Word of God, from them shall the word of man also be taken away).

A summary of any of Lewis' fantastic works always makes them sound somewhat Buck Rogerish. They most definitely are not. First of all, there is a verisimilitude about them that makes the fantastic elements blend into reality. There is, further, a spiritual insight that flashes out on page after page, as here, for example, when Ransom, saying that angels used once in the world's history to be rather dread visitants of men, remarks that all that was changed "by what happened at Bethlehem"; or as when he talks to Jane about why her marriage to Mark has not gone well, and says: "... you do not fail in obedience through lack of love, but have lost love because you have never attempted obedience." Another pregnant observation comes when Jane, seeing the bearded figure of Ransom for the first time, reflects:

Solomon—for the first time in many years the bright solar blend of king and lover and magician which hangs about that name stole back upon her mind. For the first time in all those years she tasted the word *King* itself, with all linked associations of battle, marriage, priesthood, mercy and power.

This, surely, strikes deep into the heart of those who know a King of Kings.

Perelandra remains to date Lewis' masterpiece. But *That Hideous Strength* is a worthy successor, if not a peer.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

CLASSIC ON POLITICAL LIBERALISM

GROOVES OF CHANGE. A BOOK OF MEMOIRS. By the Rt. Hon. Viscount Samuel. Bobbs-Merrill Co. \$3.75.

"NO ONE CAN FORESEE THE FUTURE," Viscount Samuel observes, "not even those who make it."

The fortunes of the Liberal Party are, momentarily, at a very low ebb. Liberals in the House of Commons number only twelve. A Labor Government, with an independent majority, seems destined for a long tenure of office. Yet Viscount Samuel is thoroughly experienced in the ups and downs of politics during the past half-century and is fully justified in his conviction that Mr. Gladstone's party, and the social principles which it championed, can never be erased from British political history.

Herbert Samuel, the son of a wealthy London banker, graduated from Balliol College, Oxford, in the summer of 1893 and was adopted soon after as Liberal candidate for South Oxfordshire. He campaigned in the eighty villages of his constituency and met defeat by only 361 votes. After seven more years of effort he was again defeated in the election of 1900, but by the narrow majority of 172. His political apprenticeship ended in 1902 when he was elected to the Commons from the North Riding of Yorkshire.

During the early years of his parliamentary career, Viscount Samuel was responsible for the famous Children Act of 1908 and other progressive social legislation. During the war years he was Home Secretary, and shortly after the end of World War I became High Commissioner of Palestine, a difficult assignment which he discharged with conspicuous success. Returning to England, he was elected to the House, this time as a successful Liberal candidate from Lancashire. He was a member of the National Government and became Home Secretary for the second time in 1931. Six years later he accepted a seat in the House of Lords.

There is an appealing classic quality about this unassuming chronicle of a bygone age. Throughout his political career Herbert was conservative in outlook, always a judicious and moderating influence, at all times fair and reasonable, and distinguished by a high sense of loyalty to moral principles, without which statecraft becomes an abomination. As a young man he wrote a book on Liberalism in which he started with the proposition that politics can find its premises only in the conclusions of ethics, and that ethics itself must take its direction from religion and philosophy. In later life he returned again and again to the problem which is basic to all our troubles: what kind of religion, what kind of philosophy?

He came to see that the practical work of the politician, the economist and the administrator was still indispensable but that there was now something still more important—the clarification of fundamental ideas. He is today of the opinion that only through the cooperation of men of religion, philosophy and science can a body of thought be gradually created which may rescue the coming generations from the evils that have afflicted our own. In this expression of opinion Viscount Samuel will receive that general assent which, in the political arena, is so frequently denied those who best serve their country and the cause of international fellowship.

JOHN J. O'CONNOR

HIS NOT TO REASON WHY

GENERAL WAINWRIGHT'S STORY. Edited by Robert Con-sidine. Doubleday and Co. \$3

COMMENTING ON MACARTHUR'S departure to Australia, General Wainwright says: "He was going because he was a soldier, and a soldier obeys orders from his commander regardless of his own emotions, ambitions, hopes." General Wainwright received and obeyed orders far more difficult. In taking over command at Bataan he knew that unless death intervened he was destined to defeat, surrender and captivity.

How different is this plain tale of a soldier from the epic narrative of a ghost writer! The author learned to write in a military school, not in a college of journalism. He is brief, always aiming at accuracy, never at effect. You realize that you are reading the apologia of a great and good man who

A Pleasant Dilemma

Publishing in these days is apt to be a bit hectic, what with the paper shortage and some bad bottlenecks at the printers and binders. A perfect example is the job we have had in keeping **WARTIME MISSION IN SPAIN** in stock so that we could supply the many bookshops which are clamoring for it.

Fortunately, this is not the case with a new and lovely little book which is an extraordinary piece of spiritual writing and about which we are very pleased: **WHOM THOU SEEkest**. We do have it in stock, and have been advertising it. And the reviews have been very good!

We think that in time it will rank with the well-known pieces of mystical literature. It has much in common with the writings of St. Theresa of Avila and St. John of the Cross, but it is personal and modern. In advertising it in the public press we did not stress the fact that it has an imprimatur, or that it is largely for Catholics, as we felt that it might command a larger public and fulfill the wide need for spiritual reading.

For your interest, we do want to call your attention to the imprimatur because we are very anxious for copies of **WHOM THOU SEEkest** to get into the hands of those who need what it has to offer as a source of spiritual refreshment.

WHOM THOU SEEkest, Anonymous.

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While we are on the subject, we have just published a book of poetry by Sister Maura called **INITIATE THE HEART**. You may remember her because of:

*"From the day of the choosing
his arms were upswung to the stark
swift gesture of flinging
the Discus up to its arc."*

from *The Discus Thrower*, which first appeared in this magazine. It too will be advertised in the general press and it has an imprimatur.

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was chosen to suffer for his country. His style is moving in its simple dignity and sincerity.

The first chapter is fittingly entitled "Assignment." He was summoned to the rock of Corregidor, given an extra star and made commander of the heroic but half-starved troops on Bataan. Next he describes his campaign in Northern Luzon, where with raw troops and scanty equipment he fought a delaying action against overwhelming odds. Then came the last phase of War Plan Orange No. 3, which meant retreat to Bataan and the last stand in the jungles near the shores of Manila Bay. He explains that General King, his subordinate, surrendered on his own responsibility. Such an order he himself was forbidden to give. But he praises the decision of General King. It was the only humane thing to do. Twenty-seven days later when he raised the white flag on Corregidor the Japs kept on firing. Finally, he contacted General Homma, who by brutal threats to shoot his officers and by playing on his fears for the safety of the men and nurses on Corregidor, forced him to sign humiliating terms of surrender.

There follows the account of his long captivity. With other high-ranking officers—American, British, Dutch—he was starved, beaten, humiliated. He generously admits that life at Camp O'Donnell on Luzon was more terrible than anything he had to endure in Formosa or Manchuria.

Suddenly the war was over and the honors of a grateful country were heaped upon him. That story is known, but what shines forth in the telling is the modesty and humility of the man. In a final comment he deplores the sentiments of those who would seek blind revenge. He takes the kindly view and the scholar's view: "Pre-Perry custom and Shinto" account for the pagan ways of the Japanese. They had but a veneer of Western civilization. The General who suffered most because we were not ready for war has a right to speak about the necessity of preparedness. This he does calmly and without emotional appeal. He favors a compulsory draft because he does not believe the volunteer system will produce sufficient men. This is a notable book and a valuable historical record.

GEORGE T. EBERLE

THE FIRST FREEDOM. By Morris L. Ernst. The Macmillan Co. \$3.

IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY a man named Jean Jacques Rousseau resurrected the hoary heresy of Pelagius, and denied original sin. It is somewhat disconcerting to find that, two hundred dismal years later, this naive and dangerous nonsense—mixed with some curious history and Sunday-supplement *scientisme*—still has its champions, among whom the author of this book has long been conspicuous. Since, however, it is deemed indecent these days to raise fundamental questions about social and economic and political issues—fundamental questions being of a philosophical and theological nature—I shall not develop at any greater length the implications of Mr. Ernst's concept of freedom. Anyhow, I have said enough to warn the intelligent reader.

Abstracting, then, from more important considerations, one can say that the author has done a good job in exposing the trend toward monopoly in the key field of communications. We are in real danger, he believes, of losing the first freedom—freedom of speech and expression.

With regard to monopoly of the press, he has marshaled some impressive figures: only 117 American cities left in which competing daily newspapers exist; one-fifth of all newspaper circulation controlled by 370 chain dailies; 3,200 weeklies dead in the past few decades; more than 3,000 of the remaining weeklies dominated by a single company.

The situation in radio and the movies is no less disturbing. Before the war, four networks had 95 per cent of night-time broadcasting power; 144 advertisers accounted for 97 per cent of network income; the largest eleven advertisers contributed about one-half of all network income. Worse still, one-third of all regular radio stations are interlocked with newspapers; in more than 100 localities the only surviving newspaper owns the only radio station. As for the movies, five giants control the 2,800 key theatres of the nation. They pocket more than three-fourths of the admission revenue contributed by the 100 million people who attend movies every week.

Mr. Ernst devotes the final chapter of his book to a detailed plan for broadcasting free enterprise and competition in the field of communications. It is a good plan, I think, a workable plan, and Congress ought to get busy on it at once—or at least right after the fall elections. With a campaign approaching, many of the legislators might be understandably hesitant about riding forth against the monopolists of press, screen and radio. They might ride in silence—and to defeat.

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

PLANNING FOR JOBS. *Proposals submitted in the Pabst Postwar Employment Awards. Edited by Lyle Fitch and Horace Taylor.* Blakiston Co. \$3.75

ABOUT 36,000 ENTRIES were submitted to the Pabst Postwar Employment Contest. Seventeen of the prize-winning essays have already been published. The present book sprang from the belief of the editors and the Pabst Brewing Company

that the rest of the material was too valuable to go unused, and that it would be a significant contribution to make available proposals dealing with various aspects of the employment problems and reflecting various points of view, selected from both the prize-winning essays and essays which did not win awards but which, nevertheless, contained worthwhile material.

In my opinion the finished product justifies that belief.

The editors, members of the Columbia University Department of Economics, have arranged the material into two broad categories: measures affecting the demand for labor and measures affecting the supply of labor. Under the first category we have: 1) measures to promote private investment: tax reforms, low-cost investment funds, promoting construction and other industries, promoting small business, abolishing restrictive practices; 2) measures to promote consumption: tax reforms, consumer subsidies; 3) fiscal programs and monetary reforms. Under the second category we have: increased labor mobility, wage and union reforms, proposals for sharing the work and reducing the labor force. Not the least important part of the work is the contribution of the editors themselves in the first two chapters and in the introductory notes to the various sections.

I think we should go out of our way to congratulate the Pabst Brewing Company for their sponsorship of this project. It marks a high point in business leadership and constructive thinking. Would that more companies followed their example and devoted part of their publicity budgets to such genuinely worthwhile projects! Business advertising might then make out a better case for its social usefulness.

To me the great merit of the work lies in its juxtaposition of, and critical commentary on, the opposing schools of thought. The American people must and should make their own decision on these problems. The present work should go far toward enabling them to make a really intelligent judgment.

Furthermore, there is one major danger in all study and discussion of reform proposals, namely, that we become unbalanced and concentrate too strenuously on one type of remedy. We could thus become victims of a partial outlook, forgetting that the solution must be as comprehensive and multiplex as is the problem itself. It is noteworthy, therefore, that planning for jobs has met and done away with this danger. It emphasizes, even by its very arrangement, the multiple character of the problem and the necessarily multiple answer. In the words of Dr. Taylor: "...a national employment policy, to be effective, must be coextensive with the economy."

With regard to concrete proposals, I was disappointed to see the relatively small percentage of plans urging the abolition of fractional reserve banking and the institution of 100-per-cent money. On both economic and moral grounds I believe this reform necessary, not, of course, in isolation from other required reforms. But I am afraid that the fractional reserve system can negate and sabotage the full effect of many of the other plans.

ROBERT J. McEWEN

HELEN ANN ROHRET, of Marycrest College, Davenport, Iowa, is a member of the Catholic Art Association.

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THEATRE

HENRY IV is presented so rarely that the theatre public doubtless includes many who have seen the play only once in a lifetime, and some, like myself, who had never seen it. The latter are deeply grateful to the Old Vic Company for an opportunity to witness both parts of the history in two consecutive performances. To The Theatre, Inc., whose invitation lured the Old Vic from London, is also due thanks.

In several of Shakespeare's plays, *Henry IV* among them, the characters got out of hand. Hotspur, the impetuous rebel, and Falstaff, the bibulous buffoon, take the play away from the title character in Part I; and in Part II Falstaff is the show. In the Old Vic acting version, the author's ten acts have been compressed into six; three in each half of the chronicle. Discreet hands guided the shears, however, giving us a production more intelligible to a contemporary audience than the whole text.

The Old Vic, apparently, does not go in for lavish settings. While the scenes are tastefully mounted and effectively lighted, emphasis is on acting. The players are not so polished as our more capable American actors—Ralph Bellamy, Ruth Hussey, Alfred Lunt, Judy Holiday, Walter Huston, to mention a few—but they seem more sincere, and their style is more vigorous. They compare with our native troupers as a rock garden of hardy perennials compares with a corsage of hot-house gardenias.

In *Henry IV* the cream of the production is Ralph Richardson's brilliant Falstaff—brilliant in Part I, in Part II incandescent. If there is such a degree as D.F. (Doctor of Falstaff) in any university in the world, Mr. Richardson deserves it; for he has obviously studied the role as sedulously as a Pasteur charting the development of bacteria or a Mendel observing the laws of heredity.

Laurence Olivier demonstrates his versatility in sharply contrasting roles—the peppery Hotspur in Part I, the senile Shallow in Part II. The Old Vic players are not types, but actors. Nicholas Hannon is a dignified King Henry in both plays. Michael Warre, as the Prince of Wales, is overshadowed by Falstaff while he is the play-boy Crown Prince but increasingly impressive as the King's infirmities bring the scepter closer to him. Joyce Redman is a properly lewd Doll Tearsheet; George Relph is persuasive as the Machiavellian Worcester—as Pistol he is slightly boring.

While certain actors in certain roles may lapse into tedious spells, the overall effect of both productions is exhilarating. If the other plays in their repertory are equally well done, the Old Vic Players will prove themselves grand troupers. *Henry IV*, Parts I and II, is presented by Theatre, Inc., in the Century; *Uncle Vanya*, by Chekov; *Oedipus*, by Sophocles; *The Critic*, by Sheridan, will follow in the same house.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

TO EACH HIS OWN. The two World Wars are linked by dramatic convenience in this emotional film which manages to pull all the stops on the theme of mother love, while making a show of restraint. The plot is more than slightly reminiscent of other scenario views of wartime romance, introducing a heroine whose husband-to-be is killed in the first war and who is forced to give up their baby for adoption. Even though she becomes a type of that career woman so dear to the Hollywood heart, the passing of the years emphasizes the incompleteness of her life. She is finally rewarded when her son, grown up sufficiently to be eligible for the military sequel, recognizes her in London. There is a fairly substantial attempt to set up a moral balance in the fact that unhappiness follows upon the original mistake, although audiences may be led to consider the adoption as the error through force of film tradition. Mitchell Leisen's direction appeals consistently to the distaff side of *adult* audiences, and Olivia De Havilland, John Lund, Mary Anderson and Phillip Terry round out the cast of a good, glossy production. (*Paramount*)

SOMEWHERE IN THE NIGHT. A well-planned melodrama is rarer than a well-planned murder, in spite of constant attempts to bring the two together on the screen. This film is welcome because the plot succeeds in motivating the action without muddling the audience. A Marine suffering from battlefield amnesia hides his deficiency to hasten discharge and freedom to find himself. His fear of a criminal past appears to be justified when the trail leads to a missing private detective, wanted for murder. The identity is finally established but, fortunately for romance, not the guilt. Joseph Mankiewicz has set a progressive pace over the well-charted course, and the capable cast includes John Hodiak, Nancy Guild, Lloyd Nolan, Richard Conte and Josephine Hutchinson. *Adult* audiences will find this forthright if unspectacular entertainment. (*Twentieth Century-Fox*)

RENDEZVOUS. It was merely a matter of time until the atomic bomb would replace state diaries and crown jewels among the abracadabra of spy melodrama. In this episode the Nazis—who appear to be making their strongest comeback on the screen these days—make a bold attempt to become supermen through science, right under occupation noses. Their machinations are thwarted by an Allied operation. Herman King cannily ignores the limited plausibility of the script and tries to read cosmic implications into routine excitements. William Gargan and Marie Palmer add romantic flourishes to a small-budget production which will probably please only the *younger members* of the family. (*Twentieth Century-Fox*)

THOMAS J. FITZMORRIS

PARADE

STILL MORE TOWERING grew the already towering heap of judicial precedents as courts all over the land set up new precedents . . . The knotty point—Can a public official be removed from office merely because he is insane?—came up for determination in Indiana following an official's commitment to an asylum and the declaration of vacancy in his office. Heartening to politicians everywhere will be the decision of the Indiana court. Finding no statutes justifying such action, the court ruled that insanity does not constitute grounds for removal from public office. . . . Another legal point—Can a cockroach diet cause ulcers?—was settled in California . . . Contending that it could, a sailor sued for \$25,000 damages, charged that while shipping with the Merchant Marine he developed ulcers from eating cockroaches in his oatmeal, weevils in his rice and aphids (small homopterous insects) in his broccoli. The judge ruled against his contentions . . . Cleared up in Chicago was another delicate subject—Who (the husband or the wife) gets custody of the sugar and butter in property division occasioned by divorce? . . . It's the wife. Denying pleas of the husband, the judge awarded a half pound of butter, nine pounds of sugar to the wife . . . Other precedents were established . . . A man returning home at 3 a.m., without a key, even if he is unable to awaken his wife by ringing the bell, banging at doors, throw-

ing pebbles at windows, cannot fire on his front lawn a 20-pound, 10-gauge cannon, according to a New York court. The man in question did succeed in arousing his wife with the cannon, and not only his wife but also all the neighbors, who called police. He was given a suspended sentence . . . Jurors during a trial cannot wink at the prosecuting attorney. In South Carolina, a defendant noticed a man on the jury winking at the attorney, complained to the judge. The latter ordered a mistrial . . . Whether inability to get along on nothing but laughs constitutes grounds for divorce in New York will soon be known. Declaring: "I can't live on laughs," the wife of a comedian is suing for divorce on the grounds of insufficient support . . . Soon to be revealed likewise is whether a father can bequeath only fifty dollars to his son, and \$30,000 to the person best defining the word "joke." The son is contesting the will.

Every day in the courts the vagaries of human nature are on view, vagaries which have their origin in the free will of man . . . The very existence of courts demonstrates that man has free will . . . If a man had no power to do other than he did, courts could not hold him responsible. Courts do hold man responsible for his actions . . . The practice of courts shows that only human beings possess free will . . . No one sees animals tried in court. JOHN A. TOOMEY

CORRESPONDENCE

LABOR AND THE ENCYCLICALS

EDITOR: Mr. J. C. Kelleher's letter in your February 23 issue, captioned "CIO: Threat or Promise," appeals strongly to me. The editorial footnote indicates that AMERICA holds a good opinion of CIO.

I have long felt that many ardent friends of labor who mention the encyclicals frequently draw conclusions which are not entirely warranted. It cannot be said that *Quadragesimo Anno* is altogether pro-labor and anti-employer. Rather it: 1) emphasizes mutual understanding and Christian harmony between employers and workers; 2) points out that the union between employer and employee will become powerful and efficacious in proportion to the fidelity with which the individuals and the groups strive to discharge their professional duties; 3) while recommending for labor a voice in management, does not insist that such voice be granted without the consent of the employer, and 4) finally refers to strikes and lockouts by stating they are forbidden.

I find therein no endorsement of the closed shop, no approval of threats or of force by either labor or management, no designation of the picket-line as sacrosanct, nor any justification of the legal muzzling of employers who are prohibited by law from advising or counseling with their own employees on the subject of labor-union membership.

A few weeks ago one of our Catholic papers carried a headline to the effect that 35 per cent of our American labor leaders were Catholics. If that is the case, there is some question whether it be to our pride or shame. I wonder if James Caesar Petrillo is one of them. The same paper was silent as to Philip Murray's appeal to President Truman to withdraw recognition from the present Spanish government. The *Tablet* and *Catholic World* apparently were the only Catholic publications to challenge Philip Murray for his action, and most of them made no mention of it.

Here is one labor leader, professing to be a Catholic and seeking the overthrow of the only ruler of a Christian state singled out for special commendation by Pope Pius XII in his Christmas message. Did Murray gain prestige with the communist members of CIO by his denunciation of Franco?

How can the Communists be eradicated from CIO by "democratic" means?

How can CIO members be held to the terms of contracts made in their behalf by their leaders?

How can loyalty and pride of craftsmanship be taught members of the CIO?

All these questions come to mind while the contest endures and the chief loser is neither labor nor capital, but the forgotten group, the salaried or "white-collar" workers. These were told that their salaries were "frozen" for the duration, their federal taxes raised tenfold and their commodity prices trebled in dollars or reduced in quality or quantity. In the sessions of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems held here in Atlanta a few years ago, the question of their welfare was belatedly raised. It was later submitted in writing to the NCWC, and to this day that body has been unable to propose a practical remedy. There is little in the CIO to attract this group. "Sitdown" strikes, mass picketing, the destruction and defilement of property (without restitution)—these things are repugnant to employees who cling to habits of loyal and conscientious service.

What did CIO accomplish by the steel strike—in violation of their own solemn covenant—except to increase the price of steel several dollars per ton? This process repeated will lead towards inflation. It has already caused a general reduction in the living standards of persons dependent upon fixed incomes.

How then can non-union employees of capital find anything in CIO to admire?

And so, I join with AMERICA in its timely warning to labor (February 16) that collective bargaining is a public concern and in sharing its regret that labor leaders are unable to accommodate their thinking to the present state of affairs.

Atlanta, Ga.

JOHN M. HARRISON

LEGISLATIVE HONESTY

EDITOR: I think your editorial, "For Legislative Honesty," in your issue of May 4 was far below the usual high AMERICA standard. Its deficiency was more in what it did not say than in what it did say.

You gave credit for legislative honesty to those who voted against the bill to continue price controls, but you charged legislative dishonesty to those of us who voted for the amended bill on final passage. I think, in fairness, you should have drawn a distinction between those who voted for the crippling amendments and then, having carried the amendments, voted *in favor* of the bill, and those (myself included) who fought and voted *against* the crippling amendments and, when defeated, voted for the amended bill on final passage. If we, who had voted against the crippling amendments, had not voted for the amended bill on final passage, there was grave likelihood that the bill would have been defeated and price controls would have automatically ceased on June 30, 1946. Actually we saved price controls, for now we have at least a bill that will go to conference with the Senate bill. It is my conviction the Senate will not accept the House bill, that the conferees will eliminate most of the crippling amendments and price controls and rent ceilings will be saved.

In the editorial you refer to the Ways and Means Committee. I presume you intended to infer that the bill was before that committee for consideration. As a member of that committee, I can assure you that the bill was never before our committee. Your statement, therefore, that "about 30,000 letters" (I presume you meant relating to OPA, although you carefully or carelessly omitted to state so) were received by the Committee on Ways and Means is, of course, fantastic.

In defense of my colleagues who either voted against the amended bill or voted for the crippling amendments, and with whom I most vigorously disagree, permit me to state that I consider your reference to "affluent" and "well-heeled" lobbies particularly unfortunate at this time when every Red publication and organization is endeavoring to sow in the minds of the public the seeds of distrust of their elected representatives. Are you so naive, or do you think that your readers are so naive, as not to draw the inference of bribery and corruption? It is a shock to see AMERICA borrow the technique of the *Daily Worker*.

WALTER A. LYNCH
Member of Congress

[The editorial in question was clearly a rebuke to those Representatives who voted for the crippling amendments and then turned around and voted to continue OPA. It does not reflect in any way on the integrity and intelligence of men like Representative Lynch who voted against the amendments and stood all through the debate for a strong OPA. Any possible misunderstanding on this point will be cleared up by Mr. Lynch's letter. The Banking and Currency Committee received the 30,000, not the Ways and Means Committee, and for this slip the editorial writer and the copy-readers are hereby reprimanded. We had no intention, of course, of questioning the financial honesty of the anti-OPA group in the House, and we do not share Representative Lynch's fear that our readers will draw such an unfounded conclusion from our remarks. There are many perfectly honest ways in which well-heeled lobbies can bring pressure to bear on our legislators. Finally, we believe that democratic institutions cannot survive without free and honest criticism, and that if they ever fail among us, it will be because of such actions as the editorial criticized, and not because of the criticism itself.—EDITOR]

The views expressed under "Correspondence" are the views of writers. Though the Editor publishes them, he may or may not agree with the Writer. The Editor believes that letters should be limited to 300 words. He likes short, pithy letters, merely tolerates lengthy ones.

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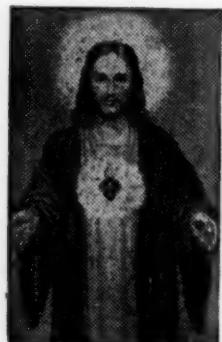
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THE WORD

PRIVATE REVELATIONS DO NOT, of course, augment the deposit of faith which was completed and closed with the death of the last apostle; but often the content of such revelations serves to sharpen the realization of truth blunted by familiarity or dulled by neglect. So it is with a message which Our Lord gave to the saintly nun, Sister Benigna Consolata Ferrero. One of the immediate consequences of proper devotion to His Sacred Heart, Christ pointed out, is great confidence. "If you wish to love Me," He is represented as saying, "confide in Me; if you wish to love Me more, confide in Me more; if you wish to love Me surpassingly, confide in Me surpassingly." Whatever one may think of the fact of the revelation, its content is undoubtedly valid and most opportune in a day when quivering uncertainty shakes the hearts of men.

It catches up one constant theme in the preaching of Christ while He was here on earth, a theme which is reiterated in the gospel for the fifth Sunday after Easter: "Ask and you shall receive, that your joy may be full." When He sent His disciples out on their first apostolic mission, thrice, within the brief compass of five verses, He warned them against fear (Matt. 10, 26-31). The same assurance weaves through His final discourse to them from the topic sentence, "Let not your heart be troubled" (John 14, 1), which is later repeated and amplified (John 14, 27) down through the section which includes today's gospel, to the consoling climax of the chapter: "In the world you shall have distress. But have confidence. I have overcome the world" (John 16, 33).

Likewise Paul one night in a vision received the same heavenly encouragement: "Do not fear . . . I am with thee" (Acts 18, 9-10); so, centuries before, the worries of Moses (Exodus 3, 12) and the doubts of Jeremias (Jer. 1, 8) had been divinely dissolved.

All over the land the prophets of woe are in full cry, and Mr. Lippmann has returned from Europe to tell us that people over there share our dismal conviction that the world is drifting towards disaster; already we can hear the thunder of the falls and no one knows how to stop or turn back. That "freedom from fear" in nations and individuals which was once a blazing ideal at the end of the war's bloody road seems to have fallen into cold ashes. Men achingly desire peace, they seek it in treaties, balances of power, spheres of influence; but all too many of them ignore the Christ who stands omnipotently ready to help: "Ask and you shall receive that your joy may be full."

It is worthy of note that He insists on our asking as He did in a previous invitation: "Ask, and it shall be given you: seek, and you shall find: knock, and it shall be opened to you" (Matt. 7, 7). All three verbs "ask," "seek" and "knock," involve activity on our part. Faith is not wishful thinking; not merely a passive absorption of God, but an active quest. In that same spirit is the admonition of Saint James, read in the Epistle for the Mass: "Be doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving yourselves." Similarly significant is Saint Luke's description of Our Lord in the first chapter of the Acts, read as the Epistle in the Mass for the Ascension: "Jesus began to do and to teach" (Acts 1, 1).

That feast of the Ascension, which occurs this week, directs our hearts to the heights whence we may confidently expect help. It calls out to us in the joyful words of the Mass, "Lift up your hearts!" Christ triumphant, Our Brother, High Priest and Mediator is enthroned beside the Father. To Him we call out with a certitude indorsed by Saint John: "And this is the confidence which we have towards Him: that, whatsoever we shall ask according to His will, He heareth us. And we know that He heareth us whatsoever we ask: we know that we have the petitions which we request of Him" (1 John 5, 14-15). It is a pity that the crucifix is not standard equipment in the international conference rooms of the world, that Christ is no longer accounted the "unseen Listener." But in our secret hearts, at least, confidence can still diffuse its bright, warm light and the Pauline plea can still have hearing: "Let us hold fast the confession of our hope without wavering (for He is faithful that hath promised)" (Hebrews 10, 23). One of His most consoling promises is in this Gospel: "Ask and you shall receive."

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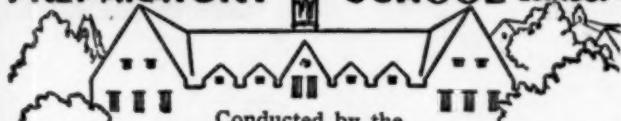
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